32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ŋ English *ng* in sing (followed by a hard *g* sound when not the terminal phoneme)
p Spanish *p* (voiced like English *b* when following a nasal consonant, labialized when preceding *ē*; palatized when following *ē* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
r Spanish *r*
s Spanish *s*
š English *sh*
ts English *ts* in cats
t Spanish *t* (voiced like Spanish *d* when following a nasal consonant; palatized when following *ē* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
ŭ English *w* (but voiced like English *v* when adjacent to *i*)
y Spanish *y*

Unvoiced vowels (restricted to ultimate syllables) are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization.

[1] A more detailed presentation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph.

[2] The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley; by the American Museum of Natural History; and by the American Anthropological Association (SKF contract grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice.

[3] I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided innumerable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been.

[4] Arutam may also be pronounced *aruma*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Turner (1958) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro.

[5] Jivaro faith in the existence of arutam souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adolescents raised in mission boarding schools in the Río Upano valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality.

[7] One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of *maikua* (*Datura* sp.) instead of tobacco water. Usually this is a person who has never seen arutam and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from *maikua* in order to be able to restrain and protect the delirious person under its influence.

[8] One exception is the fireball arutam which only vanishes silently when touched.

[9] Persons who have seen arutam can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone.

[10] There is also a rare super arutam, *ewanp*, whose soul is not so easily retained and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

[11] The arutam soul resident in the body of a person is not his own soul on any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

[12] Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between Jivaro of different households and neighborhoods. The function basis for this custom can be seen in the *desire* of the individual to advertise his arutam power by being forceful in speech and gestures.

[13] Muisak may be alternatively pronounced *maisko*.

[14] When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's muisak is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Thus the murderer hopes to reach home before the avenging soul can catch him.

[15] A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the beliefs surrounding the tsantsa. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradiction between the information presented here and previous accounts indicates rejection of that material.

[16] The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house locations along with their gardens.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

101 628 barriers, intra-tribal feuding between neighborhoods has contributed significantly to the insulation of the interior Jívaro from contact with the frontier whites. Internal hostilities have discouraged many men from traveling more than ten or fifteen miles from their homes. Many have not been willing to risk traveling that far, for fear of assassination by personal enemies or enemies of close relatives. At the time of the author's original fieldwork in 1956–57, such fears produced a situation in which relatively few of the men deep in the interior had even briefly visited the region of Ecuadorian colonization.

177 439 [411] [441] The relative isolation of the interior Jívaro, however, had not prevented them from obtaining increasing quantities of machetes, steel axes, and shotguns. By means of neighborhood-to-neighborhood relays of native trading partners, these products of Western civilization were passed from the frontier Jívaro into the most remote parts of the tribal territory. All of the interior Jívaro neighborhoods were thus supplied with steel cutting tools, firearms, and ammunition without the necessity of coming into direct contact with the white population.

The growth of this trade in recent decades had been made possible by the increasing involvement of the frontier Jívaro [464] in the Ecuadorian socio-economic structure. The frontier Jívaro, primarily through their employment by Ecuadorians in manual labor, had acquired quantities of factory-manu- 177 factured goods. At the same time, there was a shortage of • 184 native-type goods among the Jívaro on the frontier, partially 43 because of the near exhaustion of local game, which supplied feathers and bird skins for ornament. The interior Jívaro, in contrast, had a much more abundant supply of game and native-produced goods, but a greater scarcity of steel cutting

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1964)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

tools and firearms. These complementary inequalities in supply and demand between the frontier and interior Jívaro formed the basis for the trade that supplied the latter with European-type technological items. Such technological items constituted almost the sole aspects of Western civilization that had been adopted by the interior Jívaro in 1956–57.

177
184
43

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

533
539

Chapter III

SOCIAL RELATIONS

When I die
You will look for young men.
But while I live
Put more beer
In this beautiful bowl.
Let us dance, my little wife.

Social dance song

361 The interior Jívaro are scattered in some 245 houses over an estimated area of 1,844 square miles (4,775 square kilo-
131 meters).[1] The territory maximally involved extends roughly from near the Río Chiguasa south-southeastward to the upper Río Yaupi and from the western slopes of the Cordillera de
161 Curucú eastward to the Río Pangui (see Map 2). With an estimated nine persons per house, the total number of Jívaro utilizing this area would be approximately 2,205, or 1.19 persons per square mile (.46 persons per square kilometer). Nowhere is this population concentrated into villages, being instead dispersed in loose-knit neighborhood groupings of ir-
361 regular size. The interior Jívaro "community" is a neighborhood of widely distributed households in which membership is not formally or usually very clearly defined and in which the abundance of land is accompanied by an absence of definitions or claims of territoriality.

101 A person's definition of his neighborhood usually depends
• 184 upon his distance from it. For example, if his home is near the
103 *wiarud entsa* (jaguar stream) tributary of the Río Cangaimi,

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and the speaker is at home or visiting the house of a Jivaro on another tributary of the Cangaimi, the visitor will use the name of his home tributary stream as the label for his group, e.g., *nimui huri* (people of the jaguar stream). If the same speaker is a day's journey away, however, visiting a Jivaro household on the Río Pangui, he will say that his home group is the *kenaime huri* (Río Cangaimi people). If he is visiting another tribe, such as the Achuara, he will use an even broader term to denote his own people, e.g., *untsuri huri* (numerous people), a term encompassing all the people who speak his dialect, in other words, the Jivaro tribe, but even its boundaries may be somewhat hazy in his mind. Given the haziness of definition of community and an absence of unilineal kin groups, the household tends to be the most concrete social unit visible in Jivaro society.

The Household, Child-rearing, and Kin

Most Jivaro households are very close-knit economic and social units, in contrast to the neighborhood and tribal society as a whole. Each house, averaging about nine occupants, is usually isolated a half-mile or more from the next, but sometimes two, or rarely three, houses may be located within three hundred yards of one another. Adjacent houses, when they occur, invariably belong to close relatives, usually one being that of a middle-aged man and the other(s) of his son(s)-in-law. Even such limited concentrations are not very permanent, due to such factors as quarreling between the neighboring relatives or the gradual depletion of the local wild game supply.

A household tends to have a typical composition of: one

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

177
956
776
648

men are so powerful that it is assumed that they cannot be killed by ordinary means.

The Jivaró and Achuara believe so strongly in the supremacy of the Canelos *pesé* that men wishing to become successful shamans would prefer to obtain their own supernatural darts directly from them. A man cannot expect to become a successful shaman, either in bewitching or curing, unless he has magical darts which exceed in power those of the shamans against whom he is working. Beyond this, he believes that his very survival will depend upon the ability of his own magical darts or spirit helpers to resist the attacks of their counterparts belonging to enemy shamans.

184
484
956
776
[177]
[648]

The intensity of feuding within the Jivaro and Achuara tribes makes long-distance travel to obtain *tsentak* too dangerous to be undertaken by most men. Generally, only the more northern of the Jivaro and Achuara shamans succeed in visiting the Canelos *pesé* in order to obtain power. For this reason, the northern Jivaro and Achuara shamans are considered to be more powerful than those to the south.

Since shamanistic power declines in its strength as it is passed southward from shaman to shaman, a southern member of these two tribes who wishes to acquire superior shamanistic power simply does the best he can—which is to travel as far north as safety permits to obtain his magical darts. This is rarely more than forty to fifty miles. If the pilgrim is relatively fortunate, he may be able to get his power from a shaman who has obtained his darts directly from a Canelos bank. But if he lives farther south, he may find he can only obtain the darts from a shaman who got them from a shaman who got them from a shaman who got them from a *pesé*. Thus, among the Jivaro and the Achuara, there is a regular traffic of shamans making pilgrimages at least slightly northward from their neighborhoods to secure strong supernatural power.

14:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

every few years. His power, in the form of these spirit servants, is gradually used up through curing, bewitching, or dispensing it. He expects, therefore, to have to replenish his supply by visiting his higher associates. The lower shaman may look forward to help from the higher man only if he has been faithful in the submission of gourds.

Tribute between shamans flows from the south, since, of course, the most powerful shamans are in the north. The tribute follows the lines of the shaman hierarchies up into the Canelos tribe. These hierarchies do not converge upon a single Canelos shaman, however, because there are a number of banks of about equal power in the tribe. In other words, this is basically a system of plural and parallel hierarchies culminating in the same region, but not in the same individual.

The hierarchical situation is further complicated by the fact that a given shaman frequently obtains magical power from several higher associates. He does this so that his power cannot be completely taken away from him at the whim of a single higher shaman. This tendency seems to prevent the hierarchies from being used as chains of authority. Since a shaman is thus often directly subordinate to several others, considerable interweaving of hierarchical relationships occurs (see Figure 3).

Roughly speaking, about one out of every four adult men is a shaman, so that, in any given locality, the shamans constitute a significant proportion of the male population. A few women are shamans, but among the Jívaro this is basically a man's occupation. The shamans in any particular neighborhood are ordinarily linked together by secret partnerships. These partnerships are also hierarchical in nature, and often a single shaman is the formally recognized leader of all the shamans in a specific neighborhood. These secret

/text continues on p. 124/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

from the frontier Jivaro. These firearms are still being obtained in ever greater numbers.

The development of long-distance chains of trading partners between the interior Jivaro and adjacent tribes is an especially noteworthy change, mainly occurring since the end of the Amazon rubber boom, about 1914–15. The impetus for this development was provided by the fact that the end of the rubber boom found the Achuara tribe, which had been much more involved in the rubber trade than the Jivaro, suddenly cut off from their supply of firearms and ammunition. At the same time, trade between the frontier Jivaro and the whites at Macas and Méndez was beginning to develop significantly, and the Jivaro also wanted Achuara products, particularly blowguns and dart poison. The essential result was that both the Jivaro and the Achuara found it profitable to develop mutual trade. To the former inventory of products traded within the Jivaro tribe, such as salt and machete blade fragments, were added new goods coming from the frontier Jivaro on the west, and the Achuara in the east. The new goods primarily have been firearms, gunpowder, increased quantities of steel cutting tools from the frontier Jivaro, and featherwork, blowguns, and dart poison from the Achuara.

In connection with trading partnerships, a minor ritual has been learned from the Achuara tribe. This is the ceremony in which two men embrace each other, kneeling on a cloth, to formalize a partnership relationship. Previously any contractual ritual was unknown.

The now universal demand among the interior Jivaro for firearms and gunpowder has made the men of every neighborhood extremely dependent on those persons who have trading partners in neighborhoods nearer the regions of white settlement in the west. The intensification of the trading

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

digging of foxholes in house floors is a related new development. The construction of double walls behind beds has become common to protect sleepers from assassins attempting to shoot between the palm staves of the house wall at night. The construction of escape tunnels has declined considerably since the lessening of inter-tribal warfare, for their prime function was to provide a means of escaping the wholesale attacks and sieges which only occur in the inter-tribal head-taking raids. Log signal drums are now also relatively rare, due to the adoption of firearms, whose discharge is sufficient in itself to alert neighbors when an attack occurs.

A decline has occurred in the last three or four decades in the numbers of pigs kept, which is ascribed primarily to the fact that *tsantsa* feasts now have become much less frequent due to the lessening of inter-tribal warfare. The raising of pigs was primarily directed towards having a large supply of meat for such feasts. The capturing and taming of wild animals and birds has increased, however, because of the demand for these by Jívaro trading partners to the west, who trade them to the whites of the frontier.

Hunting has become more important as an activity to procure skins and feathers for trade, although there is no indication that such specialized hunting has resulted in an increase of meat consumption in the household. The adoption of firearms has tended to increase the hunters' efficiency in killing rare birds, such as the toucan, which are prized for their plumage and are difficult to stalk at close range. Firearms also have facilitated the hunting of dangerous wild animals for their skins, especially the jaguar and peccary, which were formerly hunted with the lance.

Besides firearms, blowguns and curare dart poison are also utilized for hunting to a greater degree than was the case several decades ago. The intensified use of blowguns has

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 been made possible by the development of trade with the
• 184 Achuara, who are the main regional producers of blowguns
278 and curare. Formerly, blowguns and curare could only be
411 obtained in small quantities by looting Achuara houses after
438 a successful head-hunting raid.
[727]

In the case of fishing, no noticeable trends have occurred
178 except for a very minor increase in the use of hook-and-line
227 technique due to the acquisition of some steel fish hooks by
438 means of the inter-tribal trade network.

Wild food gathering has been marked by a decline in the
178 collection of the formerly important chonta palm fruit. This
222 decline in collection, interestingly enough, is attributed to
137 the introduction of the steel machete, whose efficiency, compared to the stone axe, made it easy for men to chop down chonta palms simply for their edible tips, thereby reducing the number of trees available as regular sources of the hanging clusters of fruit. In other words, the introduction of steel cutting tools, by contributing to the degradation of this wild food resource, decreased rather than increased food obtained from gathering.

178 Species of domesticated plants remain unchanged except
24 for two new additions, *papa china* and the onion, introduced by means of trading partners from the frontier Jívaro, who in turn had adopted them from the missionaries and Ecuadorian settlers. None of the aboriginal native crops has been abandoned within the memory of the informants.

[462] The sexual division of labor in agricultural activities is unchanged except for the relatively inconsequential harvesting of the small plantings of red pepper and sugar cane. Formerly, both sexes engaged in harvesting these, whereas now only
178 women do. The decline of male interest in harvesting sugar
278 cane seems to be due to the fact that since the adoption of
411 firearms, blowguns and poisoned darts are rarely used any
824